UNITED
NATIONS

A

General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/AC.115/PV.640
22 June 1990

ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 640th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York
on Friday, 15 June 1990, at 10.30 a.m.

President Mr. GAMBORI (Nigeria)

International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA (SOWETO DAY)

The CHAIRMAN: I declare open the 640th meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, devoted to the solemn observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa.

On behalf of the Special Committee, I should like to welcome the President of the Security Council, the representative of the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa.

I should also like to welcome the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), who has come all the way from South Africa to grace this occasion, and Mr. Mark Shinners, also a special guest from South Africa, representing the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). I sincerely thank all delegations and participants in today's observance for responding positively to our invitation.

This year's observance is taking place at an important juncture when democratic forces in South Africa, with the support of the international community, are focusing their attention and efforts on the early eradication of apartheid and the advent of a free, united, democratic and non-racial society in their country.

May I now invite all participants to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the Soweto massacre and all other victims of apartheid.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour to invite His Excellency Mr. Pierre-Louis Blanc, President of the Security Council, to make a statement.

Mr. BLANC (France), President of the Security Council (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, allow me first of all to thank you and all the other members of the Special Committee for inviting me, in my capacity as President of the Security Council, to participate in the commemoration of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa.

The observance of this Day, by which we mark today the fourteenth anniversary of the Soweto massacre, is taking place at a juncture in South Africa's history when major changes are occurring in the country. Nevertheless, despite the dramatic changes that have taken place, the abhorrent system of apartheid still remains in place.

The Security Council has repeatedly affirmed that the policy of apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind, is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and seriously undermines international peace and security. It has also affirmed that only the total elimination of apartheid and the establishment in South Africa of a free, united and democratic society on the basis of universal suffrage can lead to a solution, and it has demanded the immediate eradication of apartheid as the necessary step towards the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on self-determination and majority rule through the full and free exercise of the right to vote by all the people in a united and unfragmented South Africa.

The members of the Council welcomed with great joy the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela, who embodies the hopes for freedom and justice in South Africa. They again urge the immediate and unconditional release of all persons still in detention under the state of emergency and of all political prisoners.

(Mr. Blanc, President of the Security Council)

The members of the Council have also noted with satisfaction the lifting of the state of emergency over the greater part of the country; they call for the speedy extension of this measure to the entire territory of South Africa.

In expressing again today the Security Council's deep concern over the situation still prevailing in South Africa, they stress the urgent need for the Government of South Africa to abolish all apartheid laws and institutions. They express the hope that the recent positive developments in South Africa will lead to the early abolition of apartheid.

The members of the Council are firmly committed to doing all in their power, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, to promote the exercise by all South Africans of the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They again call upon the people of South Africa to unite around the negotiating table and decide their own future in a democratic society free of distinctions based on race.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour to invite Mr. Vasiliy Safronchuk, Under-Secretary-General, to make a statement on behalf of the Secretary-General.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK: On the occasion of the solemn observance of the International Day of Solidary with the Struggling People of South Africa, the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, has asked me to convey the following message:

"This year's observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the People of South Africa occurs at a time when the issue of apartheid is at the forefront of world attention. In recent months, a number of dramatic developments have taken place which hold great promise for the future and which have set in train a process by which the dismantlement of the apartheid

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(Mr. Safronchuk)

system is now within reach. Notable among these developments are: the emergence of a new Government officially and publicly committed to the eradication of the system; the lifting of the ban on political parties and movements, such as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, to resume their activities within the country; the release from detention of many prominent national leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, and their current public re-engagement in the struggle against apartheid; the institution of a number of other measures aimed at creating a climate for negotiation, including last week's Government decision to lift the state of emergency in three provinces; and the commencement of preliminary talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

"It may be recalled that in December 1989 a special session of the General Assembly adopted by consensus a Declaration strongly endorsing the view that the end of the apartheid system should be achieved through genuine negotiations.

(Mr. Safronchuk)

"The Declaration recommended a number of steps that the Government of South Africa should take to help create a climate conducive to negotiations. It proposed that the people of South Africa should replace the present system with another based on a constitution consonant with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"As we meet here, a team of senior United Nations officials is in South Africa, meeting with the members of the Government as well as with representatives of political parties and movements and other concerned organizations. The purpose is to collect factual information on measures taken and proposals made towards bringing the apartheid system to an end. The team's findings will assist me in the preparation of a report that I am required to submit to the General Assembly on the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration.

"In my message last year, I urged the Government of South Africa to recognize, and respect in full, the dignity and worth of all citizens of that country and to take initiatives that would lead to the peaceful resolution of the conflict and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial society in that country.

"It is my ardent hope that the momentum created by recent events will accelerate the process of eliminating apartheid not only from the laws, institutions and social practices of South Africa but also from the hearts and minds of its people."

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now make a statement on behalf of the Special Committee Against Apartheid.

(The Chairman)

In the past 12 months we have witnessed dramatic changes in the global political landscape which have brought about the rebirth of political freedoms and respect for the rights of all individuals.

In Africa we have also witnessed the birth of a new nation, Namibia, finally free from the illegal occupation of South Africa after decades of determined struggle by the Namibian people with the sustained support of the international community, which we represent here.

In South Africa itself, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political organizations and the relaxation of restrictions on the press implemented last February, as well as the recent partial lifting of the state of emergency, are considered positive steps towards the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations. Mr. Nelson Mandela himself will be addressing this body this time next week, and we all look forward to that historic occasion.

It indeed seems to be a time for rejoicing as we are beginning to see the fruits of years of struggle and sacrifice of those who have suffered under apartheid. Yet today, as we commemorate the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, we must reflect on an event that happened some 14 years ago. On 16 June 1976, young schoolchildren from Soweto prepared for a protest march and rally to demand an end to their discriminatory education and specifically to be allowed to be taught the language of their choice and not the language of imposition - Afrikaans. The rally started peacefully, when suddenly South African police opened fire on the crowd of young demonstrators. A journalist who was there described the events in the following words:

"I remember looking at the children in their school uniforms and wondering how long they would stand up to the police. Suddenly a small boy

(The Chairman)

dropped to the ground next to me. They were shooting into the crowd. More children fell. There seemed to be no plan. The police were merely blasting away".

The explosion that started in Soweto was heard in every corner of South Africa and throughout the world. News of the shootings sparked spontaneous demonstrations and shootings, strikes and boycotts in university campuses and among trade union workers throughout South Africa.

That day, which is also known as Soweto Day, is etched in the minds of all, and today we ponder over the sad present-day realities in Soweto and all other townships where the majority of the South African population lives. The majority still lives in abject poverty in spite of the vast wealth and natural resources of a country such as South Africa. Schoolchildren are still subject to the inferior Bantu education policy - the very issue they protested against 14 years ago.

Conditions that sparked the Soweto protest and all the demonstrations of outrage by an oppressed people still exist to this very day in South Africa. In short, apartheid is alive and well in South Africa.

Although we are encouraged and optimistic that the talks that have recently taken place between the team represented by the African National Congress (ANC) and that of the Pretoria authorities could lead to genuine negotiations that will finally dismantle the evil system of apartheid, we must realize that it is only a first step in a long and arduous process.

The Special Committee pledges its continued support to the struggle until the day comes when the final demise of apartheid is clearly in view.

Last December the international community, recognizing the urgent need to assist in this process, unanimously adopted a United Nations Declaration on South Africa, during a special session of the General Assembly. That historic document,

(The Chairman)

which was adopted by consensus, spells out clearly the vision of a South Africa and the foundations on which it could be built. It also suggests the modalities that can be employed to obtain that objective and the contributions Member States can make in that effort. The Declaration furthermore calls for the non-relaxation of existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African régime to eradicate apartheid until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes in that country.

It is evident that the international community is at one in its commitment to continuing to apply pressure, which has proven to be a peaceful and effective means of inducing the South African régime to admit that the system of apartheid is a failure. In this crucial period of South Africa's history, continued vigilance is necessary until a negotiated solution is arrived at by the representatives of the people of South Africa, thus leading the country out of its political and economic abyss and into an era of prosperity for all.

And, as Nelson Mandela said in his 2 May speech in Cape Town,

> "The solution we seek must be based on a common acceptance of the ideals of democracy, the right of all people to govern, the right of all people to a good standard of living, to social justice and to peace in a united South Africa."

It is now my honour to invite His Excellency Mr. Anthony B. Nyakyi, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Tanzania, and Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, to make a statement.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania), Chairman of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa: I speak here today on behalf of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, of which I am Chairman. The Intergovernmental Group wishes me to extend to our brothers and sisters from South Africa who are here with us today, as well as those carrying on the struggle inside the country, our fraternal encouragement and support for their just and heroic struggle to eradicate apartheid. At the same time, the Intergovernmental Group wishes to reassure them that it will continue to contribute to their struggle by working to ensure that the oil embargo, which is a specific mandate of the Group, is vigorously and rigorously implemented in order to force the régime to engage in genuine negotiations for the eradication of the apartheid system and its replacement with a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa on the basis of one person, one vote.

The oil embargo against South Africa is a multilateral sanctions measure adopted by different constituencies within the international community, by the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, by other oil producers, by the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as by individual States which are important in the international oil and shipping industries. Gradually within the last 17 years, since the Summit of Arab States first announced an embargo on oil deliveries to South Africa, these various constituencies have added their contributions to this endeavour. But the crucial impetus which led the international community to move gradually towards an oil embargo against South Africa was the sight of young people in Soweto in 1976 fighting and dying for their freedom. The idea of such an embargo had been around for some time, but only after the Soweto uprising did concrete and serious sanctions, like the arms embargo

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

of 1977, become a reality. The oil embargo should be seen as part of the same awakening of the conscience of the international community and as an expression of its sense of outrage against the monstrous crime of apartheid.

The choice of this weapon was a very conscious and deliberate one. Oil is the only commodity which is not available in South Africa and which must be brought in by sea over considerable distances. Its importance is attested to by the fact that the Intergovernmental Group is the only sanctions-monitoring body ever established by the General Assembly to enforce a non-mandatory sanctions measure.

Thanks to the cumulative effect of many economic sanctions measures, including the oil embargo, the Pretoria régime has been forced to take the unprecedented step of working towards a negotiated settlement with the very people and organizations it has for decades vilified, incarcerated and persecuted. Those pressures produced the conditions which made it possible for the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa to adopt by consensus the historic Declaration laying down the strategy and procedures for what we all hope will be the final phase of the struggle for justice and peace in South Africa. The Declaration enjoins the international community, which has helped to bring about this situation through the application of sanctions, to continue to sustain the pressure by maintaining the sanctions and ensuring their effectiveness. The Declaration requires that each Member State not relax existing sanctions until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible change.

Only three days ago at a meeting of the Intergovernmental Group, voices were raised stressing that efforts to facilitate a negotiated settlement through

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

sanctions must be kept up. In particular, the Group called for the oil embargo to be continued and made more effective. The Intergovernmental Group, like other segments of the international community, has followed current developments in South Africa with a great deal of interest. But welcome as the recent measures announced by the régime are, the Group feels that they fall far short of meeting the conditions laid down by the Declaration for genuine negotiations to commence. Additionally, the Group takes note of the fact that the main pillars of apartheid have yet to be dismantled.

It is the considered view of the Group that the most fitting way to commemorate Soweto Day is to heed the wishes of the people of South Africa. Their foremost spokesman, Nelson Mandela, has, even in the face of current developments there, called on the international community at the very least to maintain existing sanctions.

The Soweto uprising added fresh impetus to the international campaign for sanctions against the Pretoria régime. A logical sequel to that is the maintenance by the international community of the existing sanctions and all other forms of pressure on the régime until apartheid has been completely eradicated.

Let us not be misled by those who cling to the claim that sanctions only lead to suffering and poverty for black South Africans. The same people also denigrate the liberation struggle as unseemly and senseless violence, even as terrorism. We will all live to see a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. Its birth will be partially the result of the unwavering struggle of so many undaunted South Africans, like the children of Soweto, and partially the result of international pressure, including sanctions.

(Mr. Nyakyi, Chairman, Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa)

We are where we are today in relation to apartheid because sanctions have worked. It has taken this long and at such a high cost to the people of South Africa and their neighbours because the pressures have not been strong enough or applied early enough to bring about a speedy end to apartheid. If history should later reproach us on sanctions it will be on the grounds that they were not strong enough, applied sooner or observed faithfully by all concerned. So much suffering and bloodshed could have been avoided.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour to invite Mr. Victor Mashabela, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, who has come directly from South Africa to make his statement.

Mr. MASHABELA (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): It is a singular honour and privilege for me, on behalf of the African National Congress and in the name of the struggling people of South Africa, to address this solemn meeting marking the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to seize this opportunity to pay tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid, under your able stewardship, not only for organizing this meeting but also for the active support that the ANC and the people of South Africa continue to receive from it as well as for its pioneering role in the United Nations struggle against apartheid.

(Mr. Mashabela, ANC)

Since our last solemn meeting a year ago to mark the 1976 massacres of children at Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa the South African political landscape has undergone rapid changes. Within the period some prominent political prisoners were released from life imprisonment, the ANC and other political organizations were unbanned, Nelson Mandela walked out of prison and, for the first time in its 78-year history, the ANC held high-level discussions with representatives of the régime in South Africa.

The African National Congress, which represents the aspirations of the majority of our people, welcomed those developments to the extent that they contributed meaningfully to the creation of a climate in which negotiations on the future of South Africa could take place. The international community, viewing the developments in themselves and against the backdrop of the dramatic political turn of events world wide, has also, as was to be expected, expressed itself favourably with regard to the unfolding situation in South Africa.

All this has enabled the South African régime to orchestrate a massive propaganda exercise, which has found its echoes in some Western capitals. In substance, the appeal from Pretoria is that the régime must now be rewarded for all the political changes in South Africa. Specifically, the apartheid régime, even as it argues that sanctions had a peripheral role in the unfolding political events in South Africa, is calling for the lifting of sanctions, ostensibly because sanctions would have a disruptive role in the political transformations that are under way. Indeed, the régime's efforts to extract rewards from the international community are reflected in its sinister campaign in the corridors of this body to resume its seat in the General Assembly.

The political realities of South Africa dictate that the African National Congress speak to this issue in the most unambiguous terms. While we welcome the

(Mr. Mashabela, ANC)

developments in South Africa as broadening the political space within which we continue to battle against apartheid, we maintain that it would be detrimental to the struggle for democracy in South Africa even to entertain the idea of lifting sanctions at this time. The question assumes particular and special urgency in view of the fact that Governments, such as that of the United Kingdom, have not only imbibed Pretoria's propaganda but are also helping to peddle it within the European Community following their unilateral action of lifting some sanctions. Against that background the forthcoming European summit meeting, which will discuss South Africa, is very important.

The position of the ANC is not based on demagogy but is, rather, predicated on a sober analysis of the reality in South Africa and guided by the decisions of the General Assembly. The truth is that, while there are hopeful signs on the horizon, apartheid is very much a fact of life in South Africa. South Africa's prisons are still bursting at the seams with political prisoners, and arbitrary arrests are still continuing. Although the state of emergency has been lifted in three parts of the country, the most stringent and brutal security legislation - like the notorious Internal Security Act - is still in place. While the ANC and other political organizations have been unbanned, numerous obstacles remain in the way of free political expression and activity, including a lack of guarantee of safe conduct for the overwhelming majority of political exiles. In sum, for the majority of the people of South Africa apartheid is still alive and well and as vicious as ever.

It is no accident that ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who will be addressing the United Nations in a matter of days, has repeatedly taken the message to the far-flung capitals of the world that sanctions must be maintained and intensified. Since leaving prison Nelson Mandela has taken this to the

(Mr. Mashabela, ANC)

Organization of African Unity (OAU), to the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa in Nigeria, to the headquarters of the European Community in Brussels and to the European Parliament in Strasbourg. In all those encounters the ANC has used the acid test of the Harare Declaration of the OAU, as well as the consensus Declaration of the special session of the General Assembly.

Those present here will recall that the United Nations Declaration specifically refers to profound and irreversible changes as a sine qua non for the lifting of sanctions. Under the circumstances, not even the apartheid régime can seriously argue that those profound and irreversible changes have been effected, since even the barest minimum conditions for the creation of a climate for negotiations have not been adequately addressed. On this issue our position is very clear and is based on the Declarations already mentioned. The climate for negotiations must be created by the Pretoria régime. The suspension of hostilities must be addressed. Agreement must be reached on the principles of a new constitution, and a mechanism for the drafting of the new constitution must be worked out and transitional arrangements made for the implementation of all agreements leading to the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. It is only in such circumstances that both sides of the negotiating partners will agree on lifting sanctions. In the meanwhile the people of South Africa are obliged to carry on with their struggle to rid themselves and the world of the scourge of apartheid.

In this regard we should like from this rostrum to appeal to the international community to assist in speeding up the process towards meaningful political change in our country by maintaining and intensifying sanctions against the apartheid régime. In particular, we hope that the participants in the forthcoming summit meeting will be mindful of their obligations under the United Nations Declaration

(Mr. Mashabela, ANC)

adopted at the special session of the General Assembly in December 1989. For its part, the ANC will spare no effort in fulfilling its historic obligations, namely, the destruction of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

In conclusion allow me to convey our expression of solidarity with all who are fighting against oppression in various forms. We remain convinced that the justice of their cause will prevail.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my honour to welcome Mr. Mark Shinners, representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), who has come from South Africa to attend this solemn ceremony. Mr. Shinners is 46 years old, and of those 46 years he has spent 24 in apartheid prisons - in other words, more than half of his entire life has been spent in prison. He was arrested on 21 March 1963 and charged with conspiring to overthrow the racist régime by force. On 14 June 1963 he and 14 other members of the PAC were each sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, which, in his case, were served in the notorious Robben Island prison. He was then released from Robben Island in 1973.

Following the Soweto uprisings, Mr. Shinners was detained from 12 August 1976 to 3 January 1977. After a further term of detention under the state of emergency, he was charged, together with President Mothopeng and 16 others, of organizing and predicting the Soweto uprisings. Two and a half years later, in 1979, at Bethal, he was sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment. From 1979 to 1985 he was back on Robben Island, and from 1985 he was held at Diepkloof Prison near Johannesberg.

With that background, I now invite Mr. Mark Shinners to make his statement.

Mr. SHINNERS (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): It is an honour for me to address the Special Committee on behalf of my organization, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and the struggling dispossessed and oppressed masses of Azania.

Today marks the fourteenth anniversary of the student massacres of 1976, a pointer and a reminder in time to all of us that grave injustices stalk our world. The world we live in is a world of untold promise none the less. To those living in affluence and liberty, awareness of greater affluence ahead remains a glittering prospect. For the numerous situated in poverty due to oppression and exploitation, the question of affluence does not arise at all. What faces them is a problem of human endeavour, the struggle to prevail over the odds - that human gesture of mighty effort for the final sight of victory.

The struggle to overcome formulates in itself a philosophy of life. We have all become enveloped in the mantle of human struggle for self-dignity and self-respect. We are the symbols of human conviction. Quite often the freedom-fighter is dressed in the mantle of martyrdom. Whether such accolades are befitting or not, the prospect arises that, cast in the mould of martyrdom, the real human qualities of the African freedom-fighter will be lost in a creative fanfare. Perhaps this is inevitable because causes create martyrs; the cause of opposing social injustice in Azania has no doubt created heroes and martyrs. I do not proffer a judgement on adulation, but speak of simple human experience in a tide of human history - the human history of my people, the Azanians, my organization, the PAC, and this world body, the United Nations, as well as the freedom-minded world in its struggle against the racist apartheid settler Republic of South Africa.

(Mr. Shinners, PAC)

But this body, the Special Committee Against Apartheid, predates the events of 16 June 1976, when my people rose in concert the length and breadth of Azania against a settler colonial educational system. When the Special Committee was formed, I was serving a 10-year sentence on Robben Island. The news came to us from newspapers smuggled to us by those of our brothers arrested for common-law offences. We were kept in a punishment cell for not having satisfied work quotas, notably in the quarrying of limestone. The usual punishment was to go for a day without food; it was called "three meals". That was the verdict given by Warrant Officer Theron, who was in charge.

Some courageous brothers arrested for non-political offences contrived to commit offences so that they could pass on to us, from our imprisoned leaders, newspapers, communications and tobacco, and so that we could discuss ways of recruiting for the struggle from among non-political prisoners. Their few privileges included smoking, carrying cold coffee to work, and other things.

Going without food, none the less, endowed advantages. It was through such interaction that we heard of the organization, the then infant Organization of Africtan Unity, the evolution and development of the Liberation Committee and the Special Committee Against Apartheid. We heard of the likes of Acker Maroff, Siallo Telli, Chef Adebbo, among others, as they pursued the objectives of the African nation - the Organization of African Unity - the non-aligned movement and the freedom-minded world at large. For sure, that implanted in us a strength of deep moral fibre that sustained our morale in the face of physical violence by the likes of the notoriouis Kleynhans brothers, statutory violence in the form of vicious prison regulations, no newspapers, one pencil-written letter once every six months, one visit every six months, dietary deprivation and Epsom-salts therapy, which meant that for every abdominal condition the remedy was Epsom salts.

(Mr. Shinners, PAC)

Evidence of physical violence was from time to time presented to this body. When the United Kingdom press visited Robben Island around 1964, I was called by a a certain Capter Visser to answer questions from the media allowed into the prison to refute reports of violence. A certain Chapman Pincher asked me if violence occurred on Robben Island. Without procrastination, I pointed out PAC comrades Lindi Buwa and Thomas Motlaung, who were visible testimony of physical violence. Power was in the hands of the present settler minority racist régime, with its colonial mentality.

We spare a moment for those like comrades Madoni, Ganya, Khuboni, Lamli Kula, Simon Brader, whose health succumbed. We spare a moment for those who survived Robben Island - Makana, as we called it - only to be eliminated on release, like comrades Thomas Motlaung, Anthony Mokudubete and Mapipa, among others. We spare a moment for those who were removed from our midst on Robben Island to be hanged, like Nicholas Huns, Khoboka Gelemi, Shweni, Mgweba, Ntuli and Zambodla, to name a few.

This will be incomplete if we do not thank those Governments and countries that tried to help the PAC, to help save the lives of those gallant freedom-fighters from the hangman's noose. We remember the deeds of the Governments of Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, India, Tanzania and Sweden, to name a few.

We remember those who never reached Robben Island but paid the supreme sacrifice for the struggle of Azanian liberation, like Advocate Kutumela and Nat Ciliwe, among others. They laid down their lives for principles and values that are basically universal. Through the loss of these and many others on Robben Island and elsewhere, Africa has lost society's greatest asset, its human resources. Like comrade Jeff Masemola, they remain an inspiration to our struggle for the liberation of Azania, the liquidation of a settler colonial social order based on the dispossession and oppression of the acutely impoverished African

(Mr. Shinners, PAC)

masses. The PAC strives to replace that social order with one based on an egalitarian, non-racial democratic order that recognizes the rights of individuals as human beings and Africans.

We in the PAC remain deeply concerned about the neo-fascist cultural stance of the ruling Government in educational matters. The ideology behind the education system is and remains racial dependence intellectually. In this regard, a non-creative linguistic bias dominates curricula. Critical philosophical fluency is stunted and made irrelevant to the prevailing social order.

Afrikaans was to be used as a principle force of cultural subordination. The dividing line between teacher and student was removed so that both could be willing assets of the State. Bantu education quintessentially threatened the African personality. It was designed to serve the Bantustan policies of grand apartheid that were intended to subjugate the indigenous to the racist system.

Our members in the ranks of the student movement approached comrade Mothopeng from different parts of the country between 1974 and 1976. In 1975, the PAC attempted to establish contacts with other liberation movements with the aim of adopting a united stand in positive action in solidarity with the fledgling student movement. This effort failed when the scheduled meeting was cancelled. Our members were mandated to facilitate resistance in concert with their fellow students, the community and the PAC offices in exile. In some areas, a variety of structures existed, but the extreme suppression of the Vorster régime made co-ordination in a Pan Africanist context impossible.

In this atmosphere, on 16 June racist security forces opened fire on marching students. Colonel Swanepoel, unrepentant to this day, justified the decision of the settler security forces to unleash suppressive violence. The rest is history. The Republic of South Africa went up in smoke as the oppressed rallied against their oppressors.

(Mr. Shinners, PAC)

The period of my release from prison after 10 years and a two-year banning order ended in this suppressive violence. In this atmosphere I was detained on 12 August at about the same time as comrade Mothopeng. At Modder B prison, hundreds of students were trucked in. At night their screams filled the corridors of the prison complex. In this atmosphere Duncan Mbatha, from Soweto, lost his life. It was a struggle for us detainees to inform his family.

Looking back, one is struck by the manner in which this oppressive social order mirrored itself manifestly. No one was in safety at home and in the streets as the shrill slogan "Viva Azania!" was interspersed with rifle-fire and smoke fumes. It was not without comic relief also. In Soweto, as we stopped next to a group of youngsters, our nervous driver forgot to shout "Azania", which was then our pass word. As I opened the passenger side-window to shout, a liquid was poured into my face. In the darkness, I thought it was acid and my sight was gone. Our driver extricated our vehicle. As we entered his home in the Goqwana home, there was a shriek of laughter because the liquid glue had dried on my bearded face.

(Mr. Shinners, PAC)

For many the predicament was tragic, if not fatal. In other areas, patriotic nursing sisters took risks to help the injured from death and arrest.

In November 1977, we were charged with engaging in the activities of the PAC and, as an organization, with instigating the 16 June 1976 violence and were found guilty at the end of what has become known as the Bethal Trial. Our President, Comrade Zephania Mothopeng, received a double 15-year sentence and I was given a 12-year sentence. Whereas I spent the entire 10 years of my original sentence on Robben Island, I spent 6 years of my 12-year sentence on Robben Island and some 5 years at Diepkloof Prison next to Johannesburg.

I am grateful to those people and organizations that have given assistance impartially to those who circumstances had placed in need. I wish to express my thanks particularly to the Special Committee against Apartheid and the United Nations for their role in highlighting the struggle in Azania; this great body and the Governments that sustain its ideals; my organization, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, my family and families the world over that are suffering because of social injustice.

My release and the release of many compatriots from South African gaols leave many still languishing behind. State power remains in the hands of the minority racist régime. The educational system remains colonial. Increasingly, students through their organizations, such as the Pan Africanist Student Organization, morally committed teachers, youth through the vanguard Azanian National Youth Unity, mothers, through their organizations such as the African Women's Organization, under the principal leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - both externally and internally - are waging an unrelenting war against this racist and colonial social order. These structures require financial and material support to innovate and develop projects pertinent to their growing

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constituency. The continued support of this venerated body is an investment in a new, non-racial, democratic and egalitarian State of Azania.

The struggle in Azania has attained greater dimensions because of the protracted pressure of the Azanian people, Africa and the world. Through our struggle for a normal, universal, democratic political system based on one person, one vote, the minority system is in a decisive crisis.

When the land goes, the struggle begins. Our struggle can cease when the moral birthright of the dispossessed Africans of Azania is restored. We have reached a do-or-die situation in which either our sacrifices and your sacrifices will bring about the ideal of liberation or these sacrifices will all be futile because of grave errors of judgement.

We contend that to relax the sanctions campaign and the isolation of the Republic of South Africa because of the recent statutory adjustments amounts to an error of judgement. We propose that these measures should not be weakened; rather they should be strengthened out of principle. The world must not concede to a Government answerable to a minority. The world can relax punitive measures only under conditions wholly in accord with the institutions of a non-racial constituent assembly with unlimited powers to redistribute the land.

The present Government holds the sharp pin, whether or not it chooses to prick with it, that is, the vast arsenal to inflict violence upon the indigenous majority.

Security forces continue to maim and attack our members. As I address this forum, one of the students who in 1975 initiated the involvement of the PAC in the struggle against settler-colonial Bantu education, with whom I stood trial in Bethal, and who served a seven-year sentence for the cause of the dispossessed - Sithembele Michale Khala - lies in Hillbrow Hospital, with four bullet wounds, one

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in the head, a second in the stomach, a third in the thigh and a fourth in the shin. When he was shot, he was alighting from a car straight into a police ambush in the city of Johannesburg. After he was wounded, he was kept for three weeks in a mental asylum. Members of the PAC have been subjected to unprecedented attacks. Traffic accidents are the order of the day.

This week, two members of the internal National Executive Council of the PAC, Comrade Teffo, who was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island, Comrade Mplolusi and a third comrade were lucky to come out without serious injury when their car overturned on the way to a meeting in Transkei. This follows the fatal accidents in which Comrade Jeff Masemela and Comrade Chand lost their lives.

Even in the wake of the commissions of inquiry into death squads, families, including innocent children, are succumbing to the bullets of the security forces of this Government.

Members of the settler community, in addition to the State arsenal at their disposal, have this year alone reportedly acquired 2,200,000 hand guns. Racism in our country is both political and social. Punitive measures are against racism as a whole, not just political racism.

However, the PAC is experiencing structural growth. We need assistance to run offices at branch, regional and national levels. We need assistance to communicate more effectively and efficiently with our growing constituency.

The PAC is in the process of initiating dialogue among the oppressed, with draft proposals on the constitutional model of a new Azania. Debate has started among our members on the mechanisms of democratic, political and social power in terms of a constituent assembly based on a national proportionally representative Government with a system of one person, one vote. Through this we hope to realize an Africa whose natural origins and allegiance will not be stained by racism.

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Economically, our structures will also debate the content of our new social order. Debate is shifting from the intelligentsia to the grassroots, because for us a practical solution is the one that comes from the grassroots to the higher echelons. Yes, we are mindful that if the word "negotiate" is not to become a swear word, this process must, first and foremost, start among the oppressed and exploited. We want this momentum to be as widespread as possible, taking into account the means at our disposal. The clear words of the African people of Azania emanate from our clear conscience. Quintessentially, this is participatory democracy. Power comes when the oppressed negotiate among themselves. Oppressors must accept the inevitable. Groups of our exiled members may be rejoining us in Azania. We take heart that the means of relocating them is being attended to and there is an organizational need for assistance for initial development projects of our own, whether agricultural, manufacturing or retailing. I refer to PAC-initiated projects in Azania - projects which are beneficial to the oppressed and exploited.

Educationally, we want to help our students, particularly the needy, to pursue their education. As a liberation movement, we have a moral duty to help our students help our people. In addition, the campaign to popularize mathematics and science in our society has grass-roots potential if educational programmes are initiated both formally and informally. If the classroom is the battleground, then the streets of Azania must become the well-springs of knowledge.

We invite everyone to participate in this campaign to reclaim our lost intellectual integrity. The minds of our youth are not water that must be left to go down the social drain as a solvent to impurities. They must be developed so that in times to come, they may offer, in pristine maturity, mature solutions to the social and economic problems of Azania and Africa.

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Let me compliment the external mission of the PAC for its perseverance against all odds in executing the Azania Revolution, under the leadership of President Z. Mothopeng. The Central Committee, under comrade Mlambo, has served Azanian interests with unstinting consistency. Those sons and daughters of Azania who are waging an armed struggle, not for personal gain but for our liberation, in the Azanian People's Liberation Army are the heroes of the great masses of the Azanian people. It is their potential in the wake of this new resurgence that has propelled the true interests of the African people. Those who lay down their lives are indeed true heroes.

I wish to pay tribute and homage to a brother, a friend and a comrade on whose behalf I am speaking. To the best of my ability I have tried to convey in essence what the tiger of the Azanian liberation struggle, comrade Jeff Masemola, would have wished. On behalf of my organization and his family I wish to express profound gratitude to those who share in our bereavement at the loss of this astute Azanian. I wish to conclude by giving the salute of my organization: Izwelethu! I-Afrika!, which means "Our country, Africa".

Finally, may these flowers planted for the course of human liberty blossom in time to eternity.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Ambassador Zehdi Labib Terzi, the Observer of Palestine, to make his statement.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine): It is an honour for the Palestinians, as represented by us here, to participate in the solemn observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, in the presence of the international community and of the representatives of our comrades-in-arms, the freedom fighters in South Africa.

In the name of the Palestinian freedom-fighters, in the name of the children and infants of the glorious intifadah, we salute our brothers from South Africa, brothers who are victims of apartheid, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security. We all agree that apartheid cannot be reformed and that it is only through its total and immediate eradication that the world - and specifically our friends and comrades in South Africa - can live in peace.

The blood of the freedom fighters - and today we make special reference to those who fell in Soweto - was not shed in vain. The struggle and the blood shed continue to be an investment in peace and the restoration of dignity, the restoration of human rights. The determined struggle of our brothers in South Africa has secured many victories. In this instance we are talking about the victory in securing the liberation of Nelson Mandela, who is a symbol not only of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa but of the international struggle against all forms of racism and racial discrimination. What happened to him is a symbol of disrespect for human rights.

We have heard of some incidents, some acts of violence, some crimes, some policies, some practices pursued by the racist régime in South Africa. Those can easily and truly reflect the situation in the Palestinian territory under occupation.

The struggle of the peoples of South Africa, under the leadership of their liberation movements, was supported by collective action by the international community. Sanctions, as prescribed by the United Nations Charter, have proved to

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be effective and productive. It is through the maintenance and escalation of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions that the racists will be obliged to eliminate the anachronistic and criminal ideology of apartheid, its policies and practices. In this meeting we call upon all States to maintain and escalate their sanctions against that racist régime.

The success so far achieved by our friends and comrades-in-arms in South Africa sends a message of encouragement and augurs well for the international struggle against all forms of racism and racial discrimination in all parts of the world. Today, as we meet in this commemorative gathering, we, the Palestinian people, cannot but take note of the fact that Palestinian children, using the armoury that Mother Nature provided us with, the sacred stones of the Holy Land, Palestine, have stood firm for more than 30 months in the glorious intifadah to end Israeli occupation and regain our right to life and to live in peace in our own free and independent State of Palestine.

I am sure all those present are aware of the latest crime against human beings that the occupying Power, Israel, committed on 12 June, when chemical weapons were dropped in an infants' clinic run by the United Nations. Injuries were suffered by 160 of the infants as a result of the use of those weapons by a criminal Israeli officer under command from his leadership. It is a sad fact that the punishment for such a crime was only 10 days' detention.

I wish to extend, through the representatives of the South African people, our militant support for and solidarity with their struggle, our solidarity with and support for the freedom fighters. Our joint struggle against apartheid and all other forms of racism and racial discrimination, including Zionism, will continue until we achieve our common aim: to live in a recognized and respected society, one that respects our human, social and political rights. We will continue to

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struggle until - hopefully, soon - we celebrate together freedom, independence and human dignity.

The CHAIRMAN: We have just heard the last statement in today's observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. I should like to express once again our great appreciation to all the participants for their support for and solidarity with the struggle against apartheid. I am sure the solidarity expressed here today will help advance the peace process now under way and contribute to establishing a just, democratic and peaceful society in South Africa, which was the desire expressed unanimously by the international community in its historic Declaration on South Africa last December.

Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to inform participants that many Heads of State or Government have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee on this occasion. We have received messages from the Heads of State or Government of the following countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, Chile, Ghana, Hungary, Jamaica, Kuwait, Liberia, Maldives, Mauritius, Pakistan, the Philippines, Senegal, the Sudan, Suriname, the United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda and Zambia.

Messages have also been received from other Government officials and Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Member States, including: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Peru and the Syrian Arab Republic.

The Special Committee has also received a message of solidarity from the following international non-governmental organization: Women's International Democratic Federation.

(The Chairman)

I suggest that, in accordance with previous practice, and taking into account the usual financial implications, the texts of those messages be published as a document of the Special Committee.

If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12 noon